

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an unidentified
 101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
 634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
 118 An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
 112 at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
 312 weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
 Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
 E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
 of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a
 wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
 Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
 Ufella.

137 Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
 133 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
 118 cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
 133 Alus. A bucolic thicker, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
 118 foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
 133 Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
 118 Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wādi't-tuffāh, "the river of
 the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
 118 These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
 824 so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
 437 fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
 226 shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
 824 indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
 and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
 and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
 color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
 101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
 634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
 103 are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
 tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jāmā, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
 Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
 on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
 Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
 there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/

Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addō u Yūsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addō u Yūsuf which it readily distorts in paroxystone. Yūsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the

[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[178] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-
[484] guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sfid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the
634 [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief: the
619 old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the
purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of
livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
 634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
 619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
 secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
 remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
 (613) from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
 authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addō. Im-
 material factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
 be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
 attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
 but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
 487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
 175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
 166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
 167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
 populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
 From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
 toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
 a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
 133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
 101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
 634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an open-
 ing, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
 terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
 might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent direc-
 tions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
 out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coin-
 cides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
 184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
 634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
 619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

/45 cont./

the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat, leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here. They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life, with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
 137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
 101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
 634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradín.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
 101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
 634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
 [134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent architecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
 634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
 726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
 619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir
 [764] n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?
 [712]

194 /60 cont./
some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

ooo A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, impoverished, but unailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

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175 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an unhoped-for richness.

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128 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins. No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the different ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competition of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
613
173 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they
619 /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
 • 173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
 619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the
 last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular ob-
 jectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey
 a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose
 than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
 619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
 601 of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the epony-
 mous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth
 century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and
 that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in
 the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a
 fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with
 the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be...

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say,
 the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before
 everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they
 have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, more-
 over, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship
 with those whom they call Baba Amer and who lay claim, with
 general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
 613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
 619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse
 origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of
 which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent
 contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the
 importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarce-
 ly retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand,
 it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the
 • ikhs, amenable to precise successorial connections, and the po-
 litical cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united
 to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/62 cont./

212 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of
613 public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre
of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge
of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one
succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism.
But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research.
Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in
archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To
• [173] tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and
most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral
traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated.
One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been
possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to
chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a
disaster of the Seksawa.

212 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic,
175 and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the
past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the
temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.

[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants,
and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about
acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar . . .", Hesp., 1927,
pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical
allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style,
one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its diffi-
culty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as
the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little
bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this
discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the
preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let
us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of
this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is
not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate,
at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction be-
tween the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances
offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
193 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into sub-groups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Iger-safen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins.
2) a. H'ad-duyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," <u>lhint</u> .

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

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[166]

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun
(in reality
autonomous
taqbilt).

a. D'alh'a.

Tinerghat,
Rektwasif,
Uzaga,
Wawensawt.
Alus.

Descendants of the
eponym, the only
ones to claim the
ancestry.

a. Messedut.

Came from Sidi
Mh'and u Ghāzi,
near Taroudant.

a. Buzid.

Rektwasif.

Came from the
Idaw Zeddut.

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Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual popula- tions	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar. Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	
	Iqorran.	Ighelmel- len.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sāid u Buzid. Igurramen.	Ikis. Imi n- wasif.	Unknown origin. "Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [66]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

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/In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1).

[195]

1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdellâ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^cAbd Allah.

[169]

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-

[175]

trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bul^cwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.

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Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

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[178]

In the case of the a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is

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the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the

[613]

mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

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Villages	Names of <u>ikhs</u> and traditional origin
Bul'w��n	a. Lkhil, came from Tidrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi �li Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Gh�nem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'sh'a. It would have originated from the Ud �zz�z (Ud. Besseb��c). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u S�id (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'�jj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u S�id Benna�er (Jews converted by the N���ir?). a. Na�er, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benj��a, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujm�� u �lla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). - Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. L�neyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'�jj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. S�id u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u �li (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanən]

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/66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt { Ih'ançal, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas).
a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a.
Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a.
Bihi u H'fid', a. Chcheikh H'med, all having orig-
inated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of
Bul'wân.
a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi
Musa).
a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira).
a. Mançur (Dwiran).
a. Burjal (Dwiran).

Agawz { a. Buābila (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).

Tiburin, { Regraga "marabouts."
Imi n-tghli { Ih'naychen (Dwiran).
a. Kawsir (Dwiran).
a. Jâa (Dwiran).
a. H'med (Dwiran).
a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran).
a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran).
a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/

Third Case

634 /In the original source the following five paragraphs are
[101] printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a di-
herited aggregate, the Ibubanən, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabu-
bant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubānī), occupants of
[312] high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A
[142] country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent
[181] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type
from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanən]

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[181]

/67 cont./

pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

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1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkāla (1).

[648]

1. At this moment the Bani Māger, who are Maçmūda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichāwa, grouping Berbéro-phones separated by the Ud Bessebā from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmūda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]

People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Tīmskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Mseddāt of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

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2) The immigrant Dukkāla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkāla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqām of their saint, this Baba Lh'ājj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Ali, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction." I'ār, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Abdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

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A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

• [173]

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella, is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Igern-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./

423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of
traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by
the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below
T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-
duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and
divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that
these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
archeological value is therefore probable.

619
• 173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is,
to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an
incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'.
And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa
are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether
this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration;
the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

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613 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
619 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not
from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still repre-
sented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property
legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are
printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and
there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear
in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkāla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

173 /70 cont./
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which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son, who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, Les Kébâïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannâmmert, in present-day Iguntar, but Amrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta

[423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

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[174] The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immigration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./

166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wa'zgit.

[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration,
and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance ex-
ceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.

166 This is what the hagiology recalls. Sidi Mh'and comes from the
173 Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed
776 generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi
619 Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tament, taps the offerings of several
Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi
Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several
old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The
legend of sidi Amer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of
the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material,
their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just
like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the
North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual
psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or,
if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this con-
tinual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing
indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become
exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal
as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions
as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the
terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is
always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world.
Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any
more than he succumbs.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

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/The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

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Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Asstif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103]

Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâir, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Asstif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

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An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

- 173 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant
tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished
ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It
seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them,
despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers;
but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today serv-
ants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla
Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying
the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve.
However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa
usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira
usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and
legend has kept account of it for them.

- 101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
174 three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
619 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation,
and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init',
note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

- 174 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
619 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the
Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa,
belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as prof-
iteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening
(end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time
when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove
them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the
notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were ex-
cluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which,
on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense,
is a new archeological clue.

/74 cont./

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masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Amer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

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"From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

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Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançūr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi cAt'a'llah, among whom a certain Sidi Abū Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

173 /75 cont./
175 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The
619 Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlād sidi
At'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of
an attested affidavit of ḡafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several
times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an
175 immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of
166 the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2).
619

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat,
Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21,
recognizes the Maghāga as the name of a
group; Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Histoire des Berbères
/History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171,
232. Cf. on the name of Jannūn, Ibn H'azm,
op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idri-
sids).

(613) to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They
bear archaic names: Jannūn, Aftūn, Danūq, Ghazāl, Isān, for
which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy,
substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet.
The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold,
beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness,
the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains
in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi-
grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity
can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries
covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate
Usikis and Ad'er'd'ur, those of Ali Usikis and Tasselli, those of
(176) Abd al-Wāh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymān is the an-
cestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the
saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage
whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still
bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century.
One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

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the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawā'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mūsā at-Tudmāwf, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Asstif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lāz', just a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talāint n-jju^c, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361
619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

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[796] At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Asstif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Asstif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen. They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

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[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
 721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
 619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of
 broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its
 color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

[175] The struggles against the aït Gasa continued throughout the
 [423] eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
 their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
 great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley
 occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the
 classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture
 of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into
 Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
 inal source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses.
 The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the
 ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from
 which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary
 great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
 613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
 619

	Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 619 613 173	a. Ikru, "those of the kld."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agri- cultural <u>initium</u> .
	a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
	a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
	a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	These are the only two con- quering branches.
	a. Uchchen.	—	
	a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I- seqqalen from Usikis.	
	a. Wakrim.		

[Idma]

/77 cont./

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Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemfa, he rounded up in his house. Abdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'at.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'ajj Bujma, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1).

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1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idna]

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/78 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/, "R. afr.", 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqa'â", Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

173 His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then
619 follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.

Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.

Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.

Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.

Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.

His son Moh'ammed u Bella Anono.

Wakrim u Bella.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahîm Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.

H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.

Sâid u Akâys n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).

Âbdallah Ijfiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.

/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqî of Tasselli).

Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).

Lh'âjj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present am-ghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.

H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.

Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.

Lh'âjj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/36 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

- 173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued
Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical
descendants of the eponym Cuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph
of CAbd Allah b. Yâsin. Note that there are still some a.
Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen,
which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of
the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on
the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud.,
at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /un-
published Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the
a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and
the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would
have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[776] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young,
vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

A

It_A is divided as follows:619
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Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mengur.	a. Sâid. a. u Chelh'. a. Naçer. a. Amer. a. Bnriya. a. Mulid. Ikhawwn. a. Mh'and u Bujmâ. a. Leçger. a. u Zarra. a. u Mâli. a. u Sas. a. H'ammô Ali. u. H'ammô. a. u Addam. a. Skiwt.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin. Agadir. — Awines. Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr. Iwulla. Iwulla, Wanzid'. Tabradjut. Tamesdakht. — Awines. Awines. Agadir, Ighilan. Ighilan. — —
	a. Daud.		

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases.

First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in

a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [1.0., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

A

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

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The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

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From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sâid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u Ali. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Iubun, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Iubun. It is possible that they then asked for and

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

[776] There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Ali. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

[423] The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Abdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 - For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the
[631] existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

• 173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./

• 173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a in Mtugga, to restrict ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark, stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple continuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories, conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flourish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations, those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punctuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles, from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain, an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers. Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts" claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over individual and community activities, but a careful demarcation; the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspectives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentiation, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
 243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
 173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
 433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
 a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
 243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
 43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
 221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
 is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
 except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
 244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
 245 turnip; accessorially the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
 433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
 depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
 [146] unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
 cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
 expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
 esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
 to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
 revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
 167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
 sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
 porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
 out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
 change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
 619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
 648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
 the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
 Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
 a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
 the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
 emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
 hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
 termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/156 cont./

312 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation
423 of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need
624 that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit,
one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not un-
leash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there
one is on a plane of rural order, prejudicial in a way.

[157] /The rest of this section is in small type in the orig-
inal source./ It is according to this third procedure that the
Tal'h'archt séguia, of the a. Abdella, was traditionally admin-
istered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a
few years ago. The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the
a. L'anayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the
knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places
that tradition always connects with a "Caid 'Abdallah
Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These
legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a
rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Abdella is undoubt-
edly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a
form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the
cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not oc-
423 cur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the
178 different orders of phenomena. In a. Abdella, despite the mo-
[613] bility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the
absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground
among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however,
the gentilitual rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of
factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies.
Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property
and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdéyn, Talfint n-tauidwa, t. waman i-ygaderm, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguías, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E. S. E. - W. N. W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S. - E. with the Idma and the a. H'ad-duyws only by the Tizi'Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen
613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only
312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin.
173 Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

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General division of the group	Subdivision into basic <u>ikhs-s</u>	<u>ikhs-s</u> superadded	Origin of the superadded <u>ikhs-s</u>	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. <u>Umghar</u> .			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. <u>Abdnfir</u> .			
a. Wajmirru.	a. <u>Menqur</u> .	a. <u>Umzil</u> .	a. H'ogg ^{wa} expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centu- ries ago.	
	a. <u>Bakhkha</u> .	a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	One day.

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N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

(613)

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Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitia. The adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked
recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The
a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an
alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu,
consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the
amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/

An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their
lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest
time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every
two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the
other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

[177] About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a
certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one
counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout,
3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4
in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^C Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla
(Ud Besseba^C), 10 at Taftacht (Chyad'ma), 1 in ait^C Aliwach
(Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they
are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these tem-
porary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

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[173]

[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

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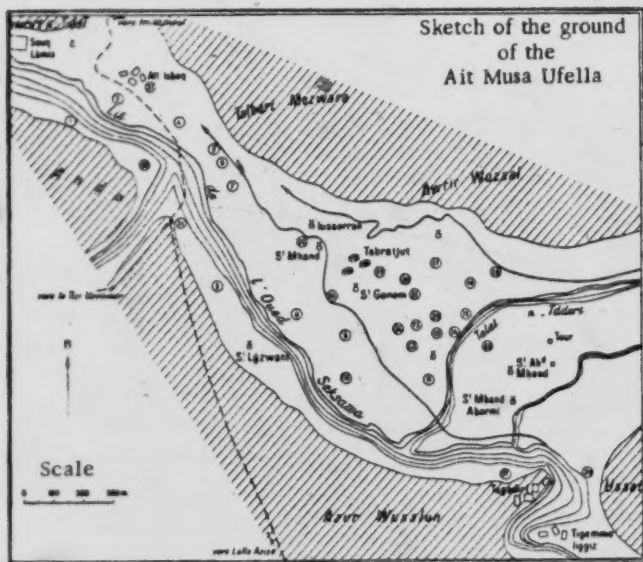


Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243

a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter abra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation technique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggyzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

[794]

• [173]

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The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

[Mtugga]

133 /222 cont./
the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage,

[634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
423 the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, [172] called Dar l-lbacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this
173 was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1);

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[783]
[789]

• [173]

1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

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A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/284 cont./

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794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power,
above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of
stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three
stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful tech-
niques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it
will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a.
Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
784 two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that
the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they
traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a
tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room up-
stairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked
them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window
were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.

211 Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives,
have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the
maqgura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are
joined here with cantonal patriotism.

784 /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not
only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose
victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
778 whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
by an examination of the places and which would put one on the
same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
619 candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
634 which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be
none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the
highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
796 him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
443 cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
692

/285 cont./

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[692] ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to settle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

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The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

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[796] Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A. . ." frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

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[423] arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irrigation, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that today the a. Abdeila are separated from Gemassa by several foreign tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

[648] Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792]
[788] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caïd had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly,
priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a
little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference
to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm
el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the
end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular mille-
narianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of
the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the
central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without
interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of
Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And
still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine de-
nounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of
the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compro-
mised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863)
which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descend-
ants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are
only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
cord them a share of water on the al-Qihra wadi at Taghzut. "That
774 no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or
723 circumscribe their space (1).

1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital
space." That is what the chronicle uses to des-
ignate the perimeter of plain cut off from the
Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth cen-
tury.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him . . . , in whatever may come to them." The
granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption:
"whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable
in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Mgh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

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(695) /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory," irida, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foundation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the country. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/

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(178) practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the consolidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

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794 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recognize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign" of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition, today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced. It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

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(184) One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordinated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoying the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the course of proceedings. Quite often this unforeseen new thing will

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*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
 648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
 101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
 [616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "left" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes, who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
 *175 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless
 619 plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
 *631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

• 173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
 178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
 619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the alliance of the elements out of which are formed the large confederations and the tribes (1);
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 *634
 *829

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1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

178 /36 cont./
 • 173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
 619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
 +631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
 +634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
 829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
 177 shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
 602 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
 829 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the pos-
 session of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, ham-
lets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the
 Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns,
 in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, al-
 though peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have re-
 mained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the
 political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the
 vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose
 population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a
 powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes
 farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides
 on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the
 attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of
 the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the
 Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous
 families originally from the South who are settled there work at
 only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city
 without ever having tried to modify them according to the pecul-
 iar genius of Berbérie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
 [504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
 [643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
 [162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

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Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa'id Ou 'Abd en Na'im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong to very large social groups made up of one or several confederations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an enemy. Kaid and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off their names before improvising their songs.

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The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble in cases of murder or theft.

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Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule, turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences. It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère /Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes manifest.

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As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

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*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of
the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears
spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the
struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us
numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
728 valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
619 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
• [73] as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran,
Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn
out by war; the other two would have founded successively the
Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït Abdallah, then the Intedan, Awines,
Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the
Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes
on the dissident tribes of the command of
the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would
be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance
within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups,
such as the village and the "mouda"; their numerical growth,
the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension
of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the
weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by
little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the
separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The appar-
ent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.

*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths.
Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

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* 634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two frac-
726 tions belonging to the same party. All the old men of the coun-
time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done
with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia
of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy
night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege,
cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there.
Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exter-
minated the male population and ruined the agadir, the collec-
tive fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the
"Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of
diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the terri-
tory of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered
separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitu-
tion and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the
oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village
of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right
"to speak" in the assemblies.

* 634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwon-
616 sekten, in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
726 are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the
"Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makh-
zan/, Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made
an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this suc-
cess, the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce
their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the
leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesma-
tert, of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in
the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

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616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike
agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge
their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come
to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

*[634] The stability of both parties, without being so great, perhaps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
648 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
175 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the
Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great
chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi
Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the
tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff;
and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God,
O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at
the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

• [173] Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the desert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

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616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the AIt Mzal, of the left of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj Abdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the
reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj,
remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the
great left of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his
alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed tradi-
tional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph
with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison re-
served for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana
or the AIt Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradi-
tion of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time
when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the
desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred
of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicini-
ty of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the
parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mix-
ture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came
recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa,
and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in
large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetra-
tion suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin
here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of
the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

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*634 [133] communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can, if he likes, play the profitable role of "conclerge of the valleys" (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

• [173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had [648] powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in [712] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century. * [631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of *634 [159] Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay Abderrahman, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd 'Ali, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cantons that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougai, Annerni.

[712] By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars [616] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad. Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid 'Omar Touz- *634 [726] zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis, * [631] [159] at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the

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In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed el Mezwar had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords, who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

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1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

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The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad, Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

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The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his canton after a soiff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed, who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa "khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Ait Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

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